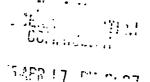
BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION



Foundation for Accountability and Civic Trust 1717 K. Street, Suite 900 Washington DC 20006

Complainant,

٧.

Hillary Clinton c/o Ready for Hillary PAC P.O. Box 7705 McLean, VA 22106 MUR # 6932

Respondent.

COMPLAINT

Pursuant to 52 U.S.C. §30109(a)(1), the Foundation for Accountability and Civic Trust (FACT) files this complaint with the Federal Election Commission (FEC or Commission) against Hillary Clinton to determine if the following activities constitute serious violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as amended (Act) and Commission regulations. The information contained in this complaint is based on media reports, public records, and information and belief. Based upon numerous media reports, Hillary Clinton's activities have extended beyond merely testing the waters to determine whether a candidacy for President is feasible, and she should be deemed to be a candidate under the Act. Consequently, she is bound by the Act's contribution, registration, and reporting requirements, which do not appear to have been met. The Commission must conduct an immediate and thorough investigation into these practices. See 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 111.4(a).

Background Facts

The media has widely reported on Hillary Clinton's activities surrounding her campaign for president in 2016: Beginning in the summer of 2013, Clinton began holding strategy sessions with advisors to discuss campaign mechanics and plans. Maggie Haberman, Hillary Clinton's Shadow Campaign, Politico, Jan. 5, 2014 [hereinafter Shadow Campaign] (attached as Exhibit A). She has sought the advice of corporate branding experts, marketing experts, and scholars, as well as hiring a research firm to do self-opposition research on herself. Maggie Haberman, Hillary Clinton Begins Process of Vetting—Herself, The New York Times, Feb. 20, 2015 (attached as Exhibit B); Phillip Rucker and Ann Gearan, The Making of Hillary 5.0, The Washington Post, Feb. 21, 2015 (attached as Exhibit C). As a candidate would, she has weighed in on public issues on social media and during speeches. Haberman, Shadow Campaign; Anne Gearan & Dan Balz, Official or Not, Hillary Clinton Builds a Massive 2016 Team-In-Waiting, The Washington Post, Feb. 5, 2015 [hereinafter Official or Not] (attached as Exhibit D).

Clinton's activities also include those that could only be campaign related, such as approving a preliminary campaign budget, searching for a campaign headquarters location, and assembling campaign staff, including "a campaign chairman, a campaign manager, a chief strategist and lead pollster, another pollster, a lead media advisor, a communications director, a deputy communications director, a focus group director and a communications strategist." Gearan & Balz, Official or Not; Mike Allen, Inside Hillary Clinton's 2016 Plan, Politico, Jan. 26, 2015 (attached as Exhibit E). Clinton directly made several of the staff decisions and numerous campaign staff members have been publically identified, some of which left their prior employment to join the campaign, i.e. John Podesta, Robby Mook, Joel Benenson, Jennifer

Palmieri, Jim Margois, Dennis Cheng, and Mandy Grunwald. Gearan & Balz, Official or Not;

Allen, Inside Hillary Clinton's 2016 Plan.¹

Moreover, individuals connected with Clinton's campaign and the media generally acknowledge that she is a candidate. Campaign advisors reportedly explained that after Clinton made budget and staff decisions in late 2014, the likelihood of her running for president is 100%. Her activities have been repeatedly described as a "virtual campaign in waiting" and "a shadow campaign." Gearan & Balz, Official or Not; Allen, Inside Hillary Clinton's 2016 Plan; Habberman, Shadow Campaign.

The media has further reported on how Clinton is funding her campaign. Late in 2014 and 2015, Clinton continued to give paid speeches in the United States and Canada, with the reported explanation for these speeches as her need to fund her non-declared presidential campaign. Amy Chozick, *Precampaign Costs Mounting Clinton Gets a Silicon Valley Paycheck*, The New York Times First Draft, Feb. 24, 2015 (attached as Exhibit F); see also id. (reporting Clinton was paid an estimated \$300,000 for speech in February 2015); Rosalind Helderman and Phillip Rucker, *Romney's Speaking Fee at Public University is \$50,000, Far Less Than Clinton's*, The Washington Post, Jan. 20, 2015 (reporting Clinton was giving two paid speeches at Canadian events in January 2015); Alex Seitz-Wald, *Clinton Mixes Help for Democrats with Paid Gigs*, MSNBC, October 2, 2014 (reporting Clinton gave two paid speeches in October 2014 at CREW Network's 2014

¹ See also Ruby Cramer, Future Clinton Campaign Staffers Working as Volunteers, BuzzFeed News, Mar. 17, 2015; Edward-Isaac Dovere and Gabriel Debenedetti, All-Too-Ready for Hillary, Politico, Feb. 18, 2015; Maggie Haberman, Hillary Clinton Bring in Robby Mook, Joel Benenson for Likely Team, Politico, Feb. 18, 2015; Dan Merica, Top Aid Leaving Clinton Foundation to Build Clinton's 2016 Fundraising Team, CNN, Feb. 9, 2015; Julie Pace, Democratic Wise Man Splits Loyalties Between Obama, Clinton, The Associated Press, Feb. 9, 2015; Jonathan Martin, Mandy Grunwald to Join Clinton Team, The New York Times, Feb. 5, 2015; Peter Nicholas and Carol E. Lee, Top White House Official to Leave for Emerging Hillary Clinton Campaign, The Wall Street Journal, Feb. 4, 2015; Anne Gearan and Phillip Rucker, Hillary Clinton Recruits Chief Strategist, Media Advisor for 2016 Effort, The Washington Post, Jan. 13, 2015.

Convention and Marketplace and at a conference sponsored by the tech company SalesForce); L. Ian MacDonald, Clinton Speech In Ottawa Offers New Life to Old Friendship, iPolitics, October 5, 2014 (reporting that Clinton was paid \$250,000 for a speech at Ottawa based think tank Canada 2020).

Additionally, Clinton has the support of super PACs who are working on her behalf, and essentially performing tasks that are necessary for a campaign. Habberman, Shadow Campaign. When two of the pro-Clinton super PACs, Ready for Hillary and Priorities USA, had differing views, they turned to a Clinton aid for guidance. Id. "Clinton herself was forced to grapple with the run-in between the two groups," ultimately coming to a resolution under which Ready for Hillary would focus on analyzing voter data and contribution under \$25,000 and Priorities USA would focus on mega-donors and paid advertising. Id. The Executive Director for Ready for Hillary also stated that the "goal is to identify as many supporters as possible and if she announces she's running to transition as many of them over to the campaign." Cameron Joseph, Ready for Hillary Ready to Step Aside as She Prepared Campaign, The Hill, Mar. 22, 2015 (attached as Exhibit G). All twenty-nine of the Ready for Hillary staffers will have an opportunity to officially join Clinton's campaign, with six already being hired. Annie Karni, Ready for Hillary Staff Join Clinton Campaign, Politico, April 1, 2015 (attached as Exhibit I).

All of these reports indicate

that Clinton is a candidate and should be bound by campaign finance law.

Applicable Law

The Federal Election Campaign Act specifically defines who is a candidate subject to the Act's requirements. 52 U.S.C. §§ 30101, 30104, 30116, 30118. A candidate is an individual who seeks election to a federal office and receives contributions or makes expenditures in excess of \$5000. 52 U.S.C. § 30101(2). There is, however, an exception to this statutory classification of a candidate. An individual who is contemplating running for federal office may conduct "testing the waters" activities. 11 C.F.R. § 100.72. These are limited activities done to determine whether an individual should become a candidate, i.e. done to determine whether there is sufficient support to make a campaign feasible. 11 C.F.R. § 100.72. Permissible testing the waters activities include conducing a poll, telephone calls, and travel. 11 C.F.R. § 100.72. If an individual "merely conducts selected testing the waters activities," then it is not necessary "to register or report as a candidate even if [she] raises or spends more than \$5000 on those activities... Nevertheless, the individual must comply with the contribution limits and prohibitions." FEC. ²

The testing the waters exemption is only applicable for activities to determine whether a campaign is feasible, and once the activities go beyond this purpose, the individual is deemed to be a candidate. 11. C.F.R. § 100.72. The Code of Federal Regulations explains:

This exemption does not apply to funds received for activities indicating that an individual has decided to become a candidate for a particular office or for activities relevant to conducting a campaign. Examples of activities that indicate that an individual has decided to become a candidate include, but are not limited to:

- (1) The individual uses general public political advertising to publicize his or her intention to campaign for Federal office.
- (2) The individual raises funds in excess of what could reasonably be expected to be used for exploratory activities or undertakes activities designed to amass campaign funds that would be spent after he or she becomes a candidate.

² Available at: http://www.fec.gov/press/resources/2016PresidentialExploratoryCommitteesnm.shtml.

- (3) The individual makes or authorizes written or oral statements that refer to him or her as a candidate for a particular office.
- (4) The individual conducts activities in close proximity to the election or over a protracted period of time.
- (5) The individual has taken action to qualify for the ballot under State law.

11 C.F.R. § 100.72.

Once an individual is no longer testing the waters and is deemed to be a candidate under the Act, any "funds that were raised or spent to test the waters apply to the \$5,000 threshold for qualifying as a candidate." FEC, www.fec.gov (citing 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.72(a), 100.131). "Once that threshold is exceeded, the individual must register with the FEC, and begin to file reports"

Id. (citing 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.72(a), 100.131). The candidate registration must occur no later than fifteen days after becoming a candidate and include a written designation of a principal campaign committee. 52 U.S.C. § 30102(e)(1). Within ten days of the candidate registration, the principal campaign committee must file a statement of organization. 52 U.S.C. § 30103. Thereafter, the treasurer of the principal campaign committee must file reports of receipts and disbursements. 52 U.S.C. § 30104. The first treasurer's report must include "all activity that occurred prior to reaching the \$5,000 threshold, including any testing the waters activities." FEC, www.fec.gov.

Additionally, a presidential candidate is subject to regulations about contributions and interactions with other political organizations. Contributions are broadly defined to include money, but also "anything of value . . . for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office." 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A). A presidential candidate may not accept contributions from an individual that exceeds \$2,700, a political party committees or other multicandidate PACs that exceeds \$5,000, or from corporations or labor organizations in any amount. 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116, 30118.

Presidential candidates are not permitted to coordinate with a super PAC, from which the candidate benefits, or accept donations from the super PAC. 52 U.S.C. §§ 30101, 30118.

Analysis

The news reports above identify behavior that appears to be contrary to the Federal Election Campaign Act. To ensure compliance with campaign finance laws, an individual is not considered to be a candidate when she publically declares a candidacy, but rather is deemed to be a candidate once she receives or spends a threshold amount. 52. U.S.C. § 30101. While there is an exception to the threshold amount for testing the waters, this exception is simply for individuals who are in fact determining whether a candidacy is feasible and any activity must be limited to determining whether to run. 11 C.F.R. § 100.72. An individual cannot claim to be testing the waters, but actually taking actions that would be relevant to conducting a campaign. *Id.* Once an individual conducts campaign activities, she is deemed to be a candidate and must abide by the Act's requirements. 52. U.S.C. § 30101; 11 C.F.R. § 100.72. Both the duration and substance of Hillary Clinton's activities indicate that she is in fact a candidate and cannot avoid the disclosure and transparency required by law.

Not only has Clinton's activities been occurring for a protracted period of time, but they directly relate to conducting a campaign. Reportedly, since 2013, Clinton has been meeting with advisors, branding experts, marketing experts, and scholars to formulate campaign plans and policy positions. Additionally, she has taken actions that are only relevant to a campaign—she has assembled a campaign staff, approved a preliminary campaign budget, and is seeking out a commercial space for her campaign headquarters in her home state. It also appears that she has already made the decision to run, as her campaign advisors reportedly stated she is running, and has approved a preliminary campaign budget and several key hires. Yet during this time, Clinton

has continued to give paid speeches, possibly paid by corporations and other organizations in excess of contribution limits to fund her campaign related activities. Several super PACs have also been conducting campaign activities on Clinton's behalf, with which she has reportedly interacted and raised questions of coordination.

Candidates should not be permitted to avoid campaign finance and election laws simply by claiming they are testing the waters, especially when their actions clearly demonstrate otherwise. Based upon the numerous media reports, there is evidence that Clinton is not simply testing the waters, but rather has made the decision to run for federal office and has conducted activities to be classified as a candidate under the Act. As such, there is reason to believe she has not complied with the candidate registration and reporting requirements, as well as the limits and restrictions on contributions to candidates. 52 U.S.C. §§ 30102-30104, 30116-30118. Finally, there is reason to investigate whether Clinton has taken actions that constitute prohibited coordination with the super PACs from which she benefits. The Commission should investigate whether Clinton is in fact a candidate, and whether she has received any contributions not permitted under the Act and made all reports required by the Act, as well as whether she has engaged in prohibited coordination with super PACs. This type of behavior is directly contrary to the Federal Elections Campaign Act, and prevents the public from obtaining information it deserves and holding candidates accountable.

Conclusion

For the reasons discussed in this complaint, the Commission should conduct an immediate and thorough investigation into these allegations. If it should find violations of the Act, the Commission must then hold the Respondent accountable.

Respectfully submitted,

Matthew G. Whitaker, Executive Director Foundation for Accountability & Civic Trust

1717 K Street NW, Suite 900 Washington DC 20006

STATE OF IOWA

) ss.

COUNTY OF POLK

Subscribed and sworn to me before this 1st day of April, 2015.



Notary Public in and for the State of Iowa



The Sprint Family Share Pack get up to 5 lines for \$90/mo. with the best family plan among national carriers.



Pactrictions analy

POLITICO

Hillary Clinton's shadow campaign

Switch to Sprint

By: Maggie Haberman January 5, 2014 09:01 PM EDT

Early last summer in her Georgian-style home near Washington's Embassy Row, Hillary Clinton met with a handful of aides for a detailed presentation on preparing for a 2016 presidential campaign.

Three officials from the Democratic consulting firm Dewey Square Group — veteran field organizer Michael Whouley, firm founder Charlie Baker and strategist Jill Alper, whose expertise includes voter attitudes toward women candidates — delivered a dispassionate, numbers-driven assessment. They broke down filing deadlines in certain states, projected how much money Clinton would need to raise and described how field operations have become more sophisticated in the era of Barack Obama.

The meeting was organized by Minyon Moore, a longtime Clinton intimate also at Dewey Square who has informally become the potential candidate's political eyes and ears of late. Clinton listened closely but said little and made no commitments, according to people familiar with the nearly hourlong gathering. It appears to have been the only formal 2016-related presentation Clinton has been given from anyone outside her immediate circle.

Publicly, Clinton insists she's many months away from a decision about her political future. But a shadow campaign on her behalf has nevertheless been steadily building for the better part of a year — a quiet, intensifying, improvisational effort to lay the groundwork for another White House bid.

(PHOTOS: Hillary Clinton's 50 influentials)

Some of the activity has the former first lady's tacit approval. Some involves outside groups that are operating independently, and at times in competition with one another, to prepare a final career act for the former senator and secretary of state, whose legacy as the most powerful woman in the history of American politics is already secure.

More than two dozen people in her orbit interviewed for this article described a virtual campaign in waiting — a term that itself makes some of Clinton's supporters bristle — consisting of longtime Clinton loyalists as well as people who worked doggedly to elect her onetime rival Obama.

There are two spheres of influence. One is made up of more than a dozen Clinton staffers, loyalists and longtime friends whose advice she values the most.

The other sphere is more complex. It includes an assortment of super PACs and outside groups, all jockeying to be part of the Clinton movement but operating beyond her immediate direction and control. Still, some of these efforts could become the foundation of an eventual campaign.

(Also on POLITICO: How Clinton's fared in the polls)



For all the genuine excitement about the prospect that Clinton, 66, could shatter the glass ceiling she famously invoked in 2008, the potential for rancor among these groups is real.

In at least one instance last year, two super PACs collided over efforts to get behind a Clinton candidacy — forcing her allies to intervene.

"There's upside and there's risk" to this patchwork of outside forces, said Tad Devine, an unaffiliated strategist who worked on John Kerry's 2004 presidential campaign, when Democratic-leaning outside groups often acted at odds with the candidate's message.

"The upside is that people are out there doing valuable and important work for you," he said. But "in a campaign, when people are acting on your behalf but they're not driven by an agreed-upon strategy, then that's the risk."

The outsiders: friends with headaches

Hillary Clinton was a few months removed from the State Department when one of her top aides, Huma Abedin, received an alarmed phone call about trouble brewing between two groups looking to help her politically.

"Ready for Hillary," the super PAC that was initially billed as a grass-roots effort to channel early energy for Clinton to run, had become a source of frustration, and it was reaching a boiling point. In addition to a moniker that irked some Clinton allies — they thought it had an air of inevitability that plagued her in the past — the group was making an aggressive play for activists and donors to back their effort.

(PHOTOS: Who's talking about Hillary Clinton 2016?)

At the same time, Priorities USA, the main super PAC behind Obama in 2012, was in discussions to reinvent itself as a pro-Hillary Clinton endeavor. That would mean appealing to some of those same supporters. The two groups also had wildly different views of how active to be while Clinton was assessing whether to run.

The Priorities official warned Abedin that the situation could become problematic for Clinton if it wasn't resolved. The official sought guidance from someone who had the would-be candidate's ear.

The efforts of pro-Clinton outside groups over the past half-year, and the Clinton allies trying to corral them, reflect a much-changed political landscape since Clinton's last run. Back then, super PACs didn't exist. Potential candidates who needed campaign prep work done had to set up an exploratory committee or PAC under their own direct control.

Now super PACs are a must-have political accessory for candidates of all stripes.

The groups can raise and spend unlimited sums in support of a candidate and perform key tasks the person isn't ready to do. In Clinton's case, Priorities will probably line up pledges from big donors. Ready for Hillary is building email lists. And Correct the Record — launched last year by Clinton-critic-turned-defender David Brock as an offshoot of the super PAC American Bridge — hits back when Clinton is attacked in the media and tries to define potential rivals like Chris Christie.

(VIDEO: The Hillary chorus)

The outside backers have allowed Clinton to stay out of the political fray for a longer period of time as she makes up her mind about whether to run.

But the free-agent entities can also become headaches when they act at cross-purposes - or in ways a candidate doesn't approve of.

A clash of super PACs

The call to Abedin, described by several people familiar with the conversation, touched off a larger debate in Clinton's circle. Clinton herself was forced to grapple with the run-in between the two groups; several sources familiar with the discussions said she wanted to keep her team distant from the work of the super PACs to avoid brushing up against rules forbidding coordination. But Clinton made clear to aides that the mess, which in many ways echoed the factionalism of her past, needed to be sorted out.

In a series of meetings in Washington and New York, advisers to both groups huddled to address the problem. John Podesta, the former chief of staff to Bill Clinton who recently joined the Obama White House, was among the participants brought in on the Priorities side to help.

Some suggested trying to force Ready for Hillary to shut down. That idea was rejected out of concern it would prompt negative stories about Clinton forces stomping on the grass roots.

Another adviser proposed merging the two super PACs, but that also went nowhere.

(PHOTOS: Hillary Clinton's world tour, 2009-2012)

Eventually they settled on a solution: Ready for Hillary would focus on collecting and analyzing voter data, accepting donations up to \$25,000. Priorities would be the super PAC for mega-donors, working solely on paid advertising.

Ready for Hillary has since won over key people close to Clinton impressed by its efforts like cultivating detailed lists of supporters through social media, which Clinton didn't do in 2008. Among other moves, it brought on Craig Smith, a White House political director for Bill Clinton and friend from his Arkansas days. He gave the aura of an adult in the room to a group created by younger former Clinton staffers.

Most important is that Moore, whose background is in field organizing, is said to believe in the work the group is doing, as does Baker of Dewey Square, according to several sources. Besides the email list, Ready for Hillary is building a massive, 50-state direct-mail and voter targeting program. In a sign of cooperation, the group rented Clinton's supporter list from her old PAC. It also brought on Obama's field gurus, Mitch Stewart and Jeremy Bird, to help build up its efforts, including by supporting local candidates who Clinton backs in this year's midterm elections.

Ready for Hillary hopes to make its data available to a 2016 Clinton campaign, and some Clinton allies believe there are a number of young aides and operatives working for the super PAC who could become part of her campaign. The 2008 campaign had many welldocumented flaws, but one was the failure to prominently deploy young campaign talent, which flocked to Obama.

"If you wonder whether Clintonworld has learned our lessons from 2008, look no further than the work of Ready for Hillary," said one source supportive of its work.

It's far from certain the outside group's voter data would be welcomed by a Clinton campaign; it will likely prefer to compile its own. Or, some Clinton associates say, it could choose from any number of outside campaign data firms, including two launched by Obama 2012 veterans after his reelection.

Elsewhere in the constellation of outside groups doing work related to Clinton is EMILY's List, led by operative Stephanie Schriock, who is frequently mentioned as a possible Clinton campaign manager. The group, which focuses on electing women and isn't a super PAC, is conducting an expansive polling project about attitudes toward female candidates. Correct the Record, the Brock-sponsored rapid response project, is being managed by a Hillary Clinton favorite, Burns Strider, and has her allies' nod of approval.

"This effort for Hillary, unprecedented in both its early timing and scope, is a demonstration of the extent to which the Democratic Party is unified behind this potential candidacy," said one of the organizers.

From Obama '08 to Clinton '16

Two of the boldest-faced names to enter the Clinton constellation in 2013 tied their political fortunes to electing Obama in 2008: Jim Messina, who went on to become a top political hand in the White House and then run Obama's reelection, and Hollywood mogul Jeffrey Katzenberg.

(PHOTOS: Stars line up for Hillary Clinton 2016)

Despite his late arrival to Obama's campaign in 2008 — he didn't come on board until after the bloody primary — Messina was seen by Clinton aides as carrying a deep grudge from the campaign to the White House. Some Clinton associates suspected he was behind a failed attempt to scuttle two of her top staff picks at State: Capricia Marshall and Philippe Reines.

But what Messina lacks in longtime loyalty to Clinton, he makes up for in connections to Obama's vast network of donors and activists. That had obvious value to a group like Priorities USA, which early last year was looking to morph from its 2012 version that decimated Mitt Romney with a series of attack ads into a pro-Clinton endeavor for 2016.

Early last year, Messina, who quietly admired Priorities' work in 2012, started talking informally to the super PAC about a role. One draw is that working on a super PAC is less of a grind, and certainly more lucrative, than an actual campaign.

The discussions went on for months last year, long before news reports in November that he was in serious talks to become a co-chairman of the group. But some Clinton allies have grumbled that Messina's swelling list of business clients could potentially embarrass Clinton; his backers dismiss the complaints as professional jealousy, saying plenty of Clinton advisers have their own potential business conflicts.

(PHOTOS: Hillary Clinton's life, career)

The White House has its own worries about Messina's hoped-for move. One is that it would look like Obama was giving his blessing to the pro-Clinton group as his own vice president, Joe Biden, is weighing a 2016 run. Concern within the administration about ruffling relations with Biden has been serious enough to cause a lengthy delay in signing off on Messina officially joining Priorities, according to two people familiar with the deliberations.

Whatever role Messina may end up playing in 2016, the mere fact that most Clinton allies are fine with him being part of a pro-Clinton group signals a rapprochement that began when Obama tapped Clinton as his top diplomat. Messina had informal discussions with some of her aides after 2012 about his view of modern campaigns, and Bill Clinton has publicly admired his work since developing a connection with him last year.

Messina wasn't the only one affiliated with Obama to join the future Clinton army via Priorities. Katzenberg broke with the Clintons in 2008 to back Obama and four years later helped launch Priorities with a \$2 million check.

"I hope my donation will draw attention to the amount of money being raised by the extreme right wing and serve as a catalyst for other Democratic donors," the DreamWorks Animation chief executive told CBS News in April 2012. The super PAC is now broadly seen as his baby.

After Obama secured four more years, the Democratic rainmaker made clear he was prepared to get behind Clinton financially. With Priorities reinventing itself and Messina getting involved with the group — Katzenberg and Messina worked together during the 2012 race — the media mogul has positioned himself as the group's ambassador to Hollywood.

If all goes as planned, the hope is that Katzenberg and Messina's involvement on behalf of Clinton will signal a smooth passage from Obama to Clinton within the party.

"It reflects the fact that the Obama political infrastructure is seamlessly transitioning to serve as [Clinton's] political infrastructure," said California-based political strategist Chris Lehane. "And [it] sends a signal to both Obama donors and operatives that it is all right to begin actively supporting the Clinton '16 effort."

The don't-do-it camp

Despite the feverish buildup to a Clinton candidacy, some of her closest advisers aren't sure she'll run — and some don't want her to.

Clinton has as clear a path to the nomination as anyone could. But she also bears the scars from her 2008 battle, as do a number of her aides who remember vividly the toll the enterprise took on Clinton and everyone involved. They all want to help her achieve whatever she decides she wants, but they are clear-eyed about another campaign.

Follow@politico

Among their concerns: Why put herself through the campaign pulverizer again and risk ending her groundbreaking career on a low note? She could still wield plenty of influence from the outside — and enjoy a normal, fulfilling family life for the first time in who knows how long. People insist her health is not a worry, but it was just a year ago that she suffered a blood clot in her head after fainting.

Chief among those in the "no" camp is Clinton's chief of staff at the State Department, Cheryl Mills, according to several people familiar with her thinking. Another close Clinton confidante, Maggie Williams, who took the helm of the 2008 campaign after a staff shake-up, is also said to have reservations for the same reason — the DNA-altering experience of a modern presidential campaign in which nothing is guaranteed.

The people cheerleading Clinton on the most are often less close to her. Their focus is primarily on winning — they know Republicans probably won't put up a candidate as weak as Romney next time and see Clinton as far and away their best shot.

Whatever their position, this much is true: From her most intimate associates to young activists just signing up, the majority are behaving as if a campaign will happen.

That doesn't mean they're certain it will. Her allies see the odds strongly in favor of another campaign but are also realistic that the world might look different in a year.

Beyond potential health concerns, an unforeseen event could make running more complicated. Democrats could struggle mightily in the midterms, and Obama could have another difficult year. Another foreign policy headache could emerge, posing a fresh challenge for the former secretary.

Several sources said in interviews that her team is discussing how she will weigh in on policy debates over the course of the next year. She is working closely with clusters of aides on different policy initiatives — one involves child development, and Clinton is also being advised to address income inequality. Her memoir about her time at the State Department, initially expected for June, is likely to be out later in the summer, putting a book tour closer to the time when she would campaign for candidates in the midterms. That's also closer to when she's likely to announce her plans, after the November election.

"This is a very personal decision, one she has said she won't be making anytime soon," said Clinton spokesman Nick Merrill, when asked about the campaign presentation with Dewey Square consultants. Officials with the group declined to comment.

A place called Clintonland

The question hovering over all of these deliberations is what the 2016 version of the place called Clintonland — a universe where proximity to the center is paramount and people have been known to exaggerate their closeness — would look like if she runs.

Her supporters maintain that some staffers whose voices should have been heard during the 2008 campaign were held back, and many of those people are advising her now. She didn't lose 2008 by a lot, others point out, and not everything about the campaign was bad.

Still, the structure of some of Clinton's past ventures, most notably the 2008 campaign, has been known to resemble less an org chart than a stew of dysfunction. She failed to establish clear lines of authority, bitter rivalries formed, and the principal ended up getting dragged into the chaos. Her world has historically been a ring of concentric circles of advisers, sometimes in competition.

Among the goals her supporters had when she left the State Department, one stood out: Send a message that she had absorbed the lessons of 2008. Many point to her tenure at the State Department as evidence that she had: Her staff — led by Mills along with Abedin, Marshall, longtime spokesman Reines and policy adviser Jake Sullivan — was generally seen as a well-functioning unit. Sullivan, who now works for Biden, would likely play a prominent role in a campaign.

One widely watched metric of change will undoubtedly be who from the last campaign returns. Of the six people most publicly identified with her last campaign, none is poised to return to their previous title.

The person from 2008 who's asked about most is Mark Penn. Clinton's pollster, chief strategist and message guru all wrapped into one, Penn was the person vilified the most by donors and operatives after she lost.

Rumors swirled among Washington operatives in the fall that Penn might be back as an important adviser to Clinton. He is said to still speak with the Clintons but is currently focused on corporate work.

"I'm all in with Microsoft as their executive vice president of global advertising and strategy and enjoying meeting new challenges there," Penn said in an email.

Howard Wolfson, her longtime spokesman, just spent five years working for former New York City Mayor Mike Bloomberg. Phil Singer, a prominent 2008 spokesman, now advises New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo and could help establish an outside communications effort supporting her. Campaign manager Patti Solis Doyle, a Clinton lifer who bore blame internally over how she handled that role, is unlikely to be asked to rejoin, nor has she expressed interest in it. She went on to work for Obama and is now president of a financial services company.

Still, one trait of Clintonland over the years is its ever-shifting roster. Someone on the outs one year can reemerge years later; proximity to the principal can change based on the needs of the moment. The list of former aides, friends and employees whose advice could be sought is virtually infinite for a couple whose worlds span three decades, two states and Washington, D.C.

One Clinton veteran likely to play an informal role if she runs is Neera Tanden, president of the liberal think tank Center for American Progress. She's a key voice on progressive issues and shares a history with Clinton dating back to her 2000 Senate race, and she still speaks with Clinton.

Mandy Grunwald has been making ads and videos for both Clintons for decades, in addition to being an adviser. But Grunwald also worked on Elizabeth Warren's successful 2012 Senate campaign and is still in the senator's circle, making a possible return to Clinton harder to read.

It's widely accepted that a second Clinton campaign would need and want fresh blood, too. One oft-mentioned possibility is Jen O'Malley Dillon, a deputy campaign manager for Obama. Another is Robby Mook, a young operative on Clinton's 2008 effort who recently ran her friend Terry McAuliffe's successful campaign for Virginia governor. Schriock and Guy Cecil, who rose within Clinton's '08 campaign after a shakeup and is now overseeing the party's efforts to keep the Senate in this year's midterms, also come up repeatedly as potential 2016 hires.

One adviser predicted a "hybrid" of seasoned veterans as well as newcomers comprising a future campaign. Whouley, Baker and Moore may be doing some legwork now, but the people officially running a campaign would be a younger group.

What the talent pool can't answer is what Clinton learned from last time; that will become apparent only once she brings on a political staff of her own, for a real campaign. Clinton made few new hires in the second half of last year and has not meaningfully expanded her team of paid political advisers since she left the State Department. That's unlikely to change soon; anyone looking for a big burst of activity is likely to come away disappointed. Despite all the buildup in her name, Clinton herself is not acting like a candidate.

Chelsea and Bill

Everyone knows that there is no one closer to Hillary Clinton than her husband and daughter. What's different these days is how Bill and Chelsea are now viewed when the conversation turns to questions about Hillary's future.

In the run-up to the 2008 campaign, and even to the 2004 campaign, Democrats — not to say Hillary Clinton's closest advisers — saw Bill Clinton as a colossal force behind his wife's aspirations. But in the intervening years, Hillary has become as big a name in her own right, Chelsea has taken on a much higher profile and Bill Clinton has been, maybe only slightly, eclipsed by the women in his family.

In interviews for this article, just about every close Hillary Clinton ally, asked to describe who is at the top of her organizational chart, gives the same answer: Chelsea. Exactly what that translates into is shrouded in a bit of mystery. It would be hard to overstate the closeness between Hillary Clinton and her only child, who is known to have more of her mother's signature caution and private approach, than her father's more free-wheeling style. The extent to which she's expanded her portfolio within their family foundation has surprised even longtime Clinton insiders.

But in terms of 2016, people close to the Clintons say it is difficult to divine whether Chelsea wants her mother to run.

In 2003, when some Clinton supporters urged her to jump into the race against George W. Bush, Chelsea Clinton disagreed. She told her mother she owed it to New Yorkers to complete her Senate term, as she had promised when she ran. It was a defining moment in Hillary Clinton's political life.

Since then, Chelsea Clinton has become deeply involved in her parents' work. She is a major presence at their family foundation, working for the last two years on a leadership change and hewing to many of her father's philanthropic issue sets.

Chelsea Clinton has said the time she spent on the campaign trail for her mother in 2008 moved her to want to do more in public service. She could be very helpful in bridging a generational divide for her mother, who will inevitably face questions about her age. She's put time into developing a social media presence.

But the 33-year-old New Yorker, who married in 2010 and recently hinted that 2014 could be the year she makes her mother a grandparent, has publicly tried to protect her mother's right to just say no.

Asked in October if she's like to see her mother become the first female president, Chelsea Clinton told Bloomberg News, "Before anything else, she is my mom. So I want her to do whatever she wants to do. ... I am very strongly exercising my prerogative as a daughter to make sure my mom has this year to rest and reflect."

Clinton herself has not exercised that prerogative very much since leaving State. She has been active giving paid speeches and collecting an unheard-of number of awards from groups who want to use her celebrity to highlight their causes.

For his part, Bill Clinton has been careful not to signal what he thinks his wife should do. People who spend time with the former president say he is animated in private conversations about 2016. He's deeply aware of how super PACs have transformed the presidential landscape — for Democrats and Republicans. The unrecovered political addict still waxes on about poll numbers — not his wife's, but in specific races he's interested in, like this year's Senate and governor races in Arkansas.

Yet these people say his tone toward his wife is deferential, and he's made clear she is the person making the ultimate decision.

"I think, and she believes, that the country should spend at least another year working very hard on the problems we have," Bill Clinton told CNN Español last month. "We have very serious challenges in America, and we have responsibilities around the world. I think it's a big mistake; this constant four-year, peripatetic campaign is not good for America."

At a Democratic Governors Association fundraiser that Clinton headlined in New York last year, the group's chairman, Vermont Gov. Peter Shumlin, told guests before the former

president spoke that Hillary Clinton will run for president and need their support, according to an attendee. Bill Clinton teasingly replied with surprise to hear his wife had made a decision.

A student of history, he is well aware of the legacy project a second Clinton presidency represents. But her loss in 2008 dented his foundation's fundraising and imposed misery on all involved.

The misery that he himself contributed to is not generally cited as a concern these days. His off-message rants, legendary during that campaign, essentially disappeared during her four years at State. During that time, his wife finally established her own identity, a fact all members of the family seem aware of.

Bill Clinton has also continued to amass political chits that could be useful for Hillary down the road. He has endorsed a string of candidates running against people who did not back his wife in 2008. And he has weighed in on issues in ways that could be helpful to his wife, given the assumption people make that one is speaking for the other.

Hillary Clinton's allies believe the timing is better for her now than in 2008. Warren is popular among the base, but she's been adamant she's not running, and if she did, it's hard to imagine her taking the broader party by storm the way Obama did.

Still, when it comes to running a national campaign, 2008 is practically another era. Technology and social media have made things infinitely more complex and unwieldy than Clinton's last experience.

None of this is lost on the would-be candidate or her allies.

At the Dewey Square Group meeting in her northwest Washington, D.C. home, Clinton received a rundown of key dates of a potential campaign as well as a sketch of TV advertising costs and other tasks that would be key to a second run.

It was all a reminder of just how much her life would be subsumed by another campaign.

"No one around her," said one Clinton insider, "is under any illusions."
© 2015 POLITICO LLC





Feb.20

Apr. 1

Mar. 31

Mar. 30

Mar. 27

Mar. 26

Mar. 25

Mar. 24

Mar. 23

Mar. 20

Mar. 19

Politics Newsletter: | Sign Up | Follow @NYTPolitics

Political News, Now.

4:10 pm ET

By Maggie Haberman

Hillary Clinton Begins Process of Vetting — Herself

4:10 pm ET Maggie Haberman

Hillary Rodham Clinton, the subject of intense news media attention and public scrutiny for the last three decades, is preparing for another thorough vetting as she plans for a likely presidential campaign. In this case, however, it's not Republicans trying to thwart her or journalists looking for a juicy scoop, but researchers she herself has hired.

Mrs. Clinton, who is all but assured to seek the Democratic presidential nomination for a second time, has hired the firm New Partners, an outfit with a history of doing deep research projects, to handle at least some portion of the work, known in the political world as "self-opposition research."

She is also close to hiring a research director for her likely campaign, a role that in the 2008 race was filled by Judd Legum, currently the editor in chief for the liberal news site ThinkProgress.

Three people familiar with the early stages of research work for Mrs. Clinton described her plans on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss them. A spokesman for Mrs. Clinton would not comment, and officials with New Partners did not respond to requests for comment.

The scope of the firm's work is unclear. But self-research is considered critical in campaigns. And in the six years since Mrs. Clinton was last a candidate, she has created a paper trail of paid speeches, charitable donations and diplomatic decisions as secretary of state.

For months, Democrats not aligned with Mrs. Clinton had privately wondered whether she had started the process of assessing the scope of existing documents, information and other potential material her rivals could use against her. Some expressed concern that she was beginning this self-scrubbing process relatively late, and might not leave herself enough time to learn about her own potential vulnerabilities to be able to respond effectively.

Their concerns were prompted by a string of stories by The Washington Free Beacon, a conservative website that extensively reviewed archival material at the Clinton presidential library in Little Rock, Ark., and came up with an audio tape of Mrs. Clinton discussing a rape case she had worked on as a defense lawyer in the 1980s.

The tape was a reminder that, with so much scrutiny applied by the news media and Mrs. Clinton's opponents in her public life, it's a challenge for rivals to come up with new material, and to make any fresh information stick. That was a frequent problem for President Obama's campaign when he ran against Mrs. Clinton in the primaries in 2008, when both were senators.

More recently, Republicans and reporters have turned their sights to the Bill, Hillary & Chelsea Clinton Foundation for accepting donations from foreign countries after Mrs. Clinton left the State Department. The scrutiny has focused on which

entities donated to the foundation, and whether there was any overlap with Mrs. Clinton's diplomatic work.

Dennis Cheng, who led the foundation's recent endowment drive to alleviate some of the fund-raising pressure on former President Bill Clinton, recently departed and is expected to play a big role raising money for another Clinton presidential campaign.

Foundation officials often point out that the entity is a charity, and that many of the foreign donations are targeted grants for programs in places rife with diseases like AIDS and HIV. Still, the focus on the foundation and its work is likely to be a source of ongoing focus for Mrs. Clinton's opponents. And the spate of recent stories underscore why the self-research process is a relatively urgent task.

More Posts

6:23 pm ET By First Draft

First Draft Focus: The Week in Political Pictures

6:23 pm ET First Draft

6:07 pm ET

By Trip Gabriel

In Iowa, Lindsey Graham Talks Up Threat From Islamic State

6:07 pm ET Trip Gabriel

Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, who might plunge into the already crowded pool of Republican presidential hopefuls, made a foray to Iowa this week to test the political strength of his signature issue: the threat from the Islamic State, which in his view requires American boots on the ground.

A leading foreign policy hawk, Mr. Graham did not mince words. The violent extremists of the Islamic State hold territory "the size of Indiana," he said, and they "can penetrate our allies and our homeland." The group, also known as ISIL or ISIS, wants to "create hell on earth for anyone who disagrees with them," he added.

In a soft and easy drawl that belied his criticism, Mr. Graham blamed President Obama for creating conditions for the group's rise and seizure of territory in Iraq and Syria.

So far, Mr. Graham has made little impact on the field of potential Republican candidates since declaring his interest last month. He said he would make a decision based on "whether or not there is a market" for his views.

"I have put on the table to defeat and destroy ISIL, to degrade and destroy ISIL, will require an American ground component," he told reporters on Friday.

"To those who say I'm trying to fight other peoples' wars, you don't understand what ISIL has in store for you and our nation," he said, adding, "The sooner we get on with it, the better."

In addition to meeting the Iowa budget director and Republican leaders of the Legislature, Mr. Graham visited a National Guard base. Although his support for Israel will likely please evangelical voters in Iowa, a potential problem is his leadership of a 2013 bipartisan immigration overhaul bill in the Senate. It included a pathway to legal status for millions of undocumented workers, which grass-roots conservatives denounce as amnesty. The bill died in the House. Mr. Graham said his views had not changed.

"I come to Iowa certain of who I am and what I believe on this issue, and I think what I'm trying to do is good for America, which is to solve a hard problem," he said.

Appearing at ease during his visit, Mr. Graham needled Charles E. Grassley, Iowa's senior senator, for being a tightfisted host. "The news to be made today is that Chuck Grassley gave a friend of his \$20 to buy me lunch," Mr. Graham deadpanned. "That is unnerving."

5:21 pm ET



The Washington Post

Politics

The making of Hillary 5.0: Marketing wizards help re-imagine Clinton brand

Correction: An earlier version of this story incorrectly identified the creator of the "3 a.m. phone call" advertisement from Hillary Rodham Clinton's 2008 campaign. Although Roy Spence had been among those publicly credited with the ad, it was in fact created by Mark Penn and Mandy Grunwald. This version has been corrected.

By Philip Rucker and Anne Gearan February 21

Is Hillary Rodham Clinton a McDonald's Big Mac or a Chipotle burrito bowl? A can of Bud or a bottle of Blue Moon? JCPenney or J. Crew?

As she readies her second presidential campaign, Clinton has recruited consumer marketing specialists onto her team of trusted political advisers. Their job is to help imagine Hillary 5.0 — the rebranding of a first lady turned senator turned failed presidential candidate turned secretary of state turned likely 2016 Democratic presidential nominee.

Clinton and her image-makers are sketching ways to refresh the well-established brand for tomorrow's marketplace. In their mission to present voters with a winning picture of the likely candidate, no detail is too big or too small — from her economic opportunity agenda to the design of the "H" in her future campaign logo.

Ad

"It's exactly the same as selling an iPhone or a soft drink or a cereal," said Peter Sealey, a longtime corporate marketing strategist. "She needs to use everything a brand has: a dominant color, a logo, a

symbol.... The symbol of a Mercedes is a three-pointed star. The symbol of Coca-Cola is the contour bottle. The symbol of McDonald's is the golden arches. What is Clinton's symbol?"

Clinton's challenge is unique. Unlike potential Republican challengers of relatively middling fame who are introducing themselves to a national audience for the first time, Clinton is almost universally recognized. Love her or loathe her, potential voters know who she is after more than two decades in public life.

Or they think they know.

As Clinton and her advisers conceptualize her 2016 image, her own history shows the potential for peril.

In politics, authenticity can be a powerful trait, and it is one that sometimes has escaped Clinton. In her 2008 presidential campaign, despite some raw displays of emotion, she often came across as overly programmed.

In 2016, a challenge for Clinton will be adapting to the political moment with a fresh image while remaining true to her settled identity. "Look at Budweiser," said a former campaign adviser to President Obama, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to talk candidly. "That's what Hillary Clinton is. She's not a microbrew. She's one of the biggest, most powerful brands ever in the country, and recognizing that is important."

Ahead of her campaign launch, Clinton has tapped some of the Democratic Party's star strategists as well as two of corporate America's branding wizards: Wendy Clark, who specializes in marketing age-old brands such as Coca-Cola to younger and more diverse customers; and Roy Spence, a decades-long Clinton friend who dreamed up the "Don't Mess With Texas" anti-littering slogan as well as flashy ad campaigns for Southwest Airlines and Wal-Mart.

Social Media for Business

branddrivendigital.com
Use Twitter, YouTube and more to grow your business –

Clark took an unpaid leave in January from Coca-Cola, where she is president of brands and strategic marketing for carbonated beverages in North America, to help Clinton in what Clark called "a passion

project." Spence is co-founder and chairman of GSD&M, an Austin-based corporate ad firm, and has experience in politics, including with Clinton's 2008 campaign.

Clinton's words suggest that her 2016 campaign will stress economic fairness — the level playing field for the middle class implied by her Twitter message last month praising Obama's State of the Union address. "Now we need to step up & deliver for the middle class. #FairShot #FairShare," Clinton wrote.

But the plans for Clinton's rebranding are not yet clear, nor are the influences of the Madison Avenue sensibility Clark and Spence bring to her operation.

Clinton spokesman Nick Merrill declined to comment on the branding strategy or the specific work of Clark and Spence.

People familiar with Clinton's preparations said Clark and Spence are focused on developing imaginative ways to "let Hillary," as one person said, and help her make emotional connections with voters.

"I just want America to know the Hillary Clinton I know," said Jerry Crawford, a friend and the Iowa chairman of Clinton's 2008 campaign. "I want as many people as possible to get to know the woman I've seen behind closed doors. She's bright, disciplined, quick to throw her head back and laugh — just a very, very attractive person."

Spence, who got to know Bill and Hillary Clinton when they worked in Texas on George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign, tried to steer Clinton out of a rough patch in 2008 after her early losses to Obama. He is credited with soft-focus initiatives to reveal what he called "Hillary's heart."

Mark McKinnon, a friend and competitor of Spence and a media strategist with George W. Bush's presidential campaigns, said: "Spence and Clark have a lot of experience refreshing established, well-known brands like AT&T, Coca-Cola and Wal-Mart. Should come in handy."

Spence and Clark have been credited with creating three-dimensional personalities around otherwise dull consumer brands. At Coca-Cola, Clark spearheaded the "Share a Coke" campaign to put names such as Brittany and Zach on soda cans, a marketing move that boosted sales among millennials. Spence helped DoubleTree Hotels make the freshly baked chocolate chip cookies the chain serves guests upon check-in an icon for its sales pitch of warm comfort for beleaguered travelers.

But Fred Davis, a Republican advertising guru, said that if Clinton's rebranding "seems like a craven attempt to try to put fresh paint on an old house, then it will backfire."

"I think most voters are actually pretty intelligent, and they'll see through any blatant attempt to change,"

Davis said. "Her only hope, to me, is not a rebranding, but it's actual policy positions and ideas that are fresh and new — and because those are fresh and new, voters might think, 'Wait a minute, I'm going to give her another chance.'"

Some Clinton allies agreed. They dismissed the suggestion that refreshing her brand alone will make the candidate seem current. They said Clinton's paramount challenge is to answer two questions: why she is the right person to step into the Oval Office, and what she would do when she's there. If she does that, they said, her image will take care of itself.

"I don't think people are looking for someone who's being reinvented or rebranded," said Steve Elmendorf, a top Democratic lobbyist who was a strategist for Clinton's 2008 bid and other presidential campaigns. "This is somebody they know, whom they have confidence in, and the question is, can she lead us to a better place over the next four years? That's her biggest challenge. What are the new ideas? . . It can't be yesterday's program."

Sealey, who is <u>credited</u> with the successful "Always Coca-Cola" campaign in the 1990s, said that Clinton, like Coke, "has incredible top-of-mind awareness, and it's a huge asset."

"The issue is: What is her promise?" he said. "With Mercedes, it's quality. With Volvo, it's safety. With Coca-Cola, it's refreshment. If you can get her promise down to one word, that's the key."

Spence's business partner, Haley Rushing, said their approach to all clients, corporate and political, "starts with them at the center," rather than market trends. "We always start from the inside out, not the outside in," she said.

Rushing and Spence co-founded the Purpose Institute, where Rushing's title is "chief purposeologist" and the staffers act as "organizational therapists" uncovering the central purposes of their client organizations. Rushing said she is not working on the Clinton effort but that she envisions a Clinton brand built around years of experience. She said, "Everything emanates from, 'What is Hillary's purpose in the world?'"

Clinton has faced that question before, with mixed results.

After a complicated tenure as first lady, Clinton reinvented herself as a potholes-and-pork senator from her adopted state of New York. Then she ran for president as a tough woman in the mold of Margaret Thatcher. Failing that, she had a careful run as the country's top diplomat under Obama that allies believe raised her stature.

Perhaps her most significant rebranding came in 2000, when she became a popular elected official in her own right after her husband's Monica Lewinsky scandal and after a controversial tenure as first lady. Clinton was ridiculed as a dilettante and a carpetbagger, but she won over critics, even some Republicans, with a dogged commitment to local issues.

In 2008, however, Clinton's rebranding went badly, starting with a misreading of the zeitgeist that had her stressing her commander-in-chief qualifications when the public preferred Obama's promise of hope and change.

Clinton's advisers were divided then about how to bust the caricature of Clinton as remote and brittle. Some begged Clinton to reprise a campaign feature that had charmed New York voters, in which she stayed in ordinary people's homes while traveling around the state. But Clinton insisted that doing so in Iowa or New Hampshire would come across as forced.

Similarly, an online compilation of testimonials meant to showcase Clinton's humanity and relatability fell flat. Too cheesy, some advisers said; at odds with her strength-and-competence message, others said.

A rebranding that stuck: Clinton's workmanlike turn as secretary of state, during which she visited more countries than most of her predecessors — and used her celebrity to draw attention to women's empowerment and human rights issues.

Now, Clinton will try to refresh her image once more so that voters see her as a champion for the middle class amid deep concerns about income inequality. Rohit Deshpande, a marketing professor at Harvard Business School, offered a fast-food giant as a case study.

"Refresh with the times is the issue McDonald's is facing right now," he said. "It's considered tired, and the marketplace has moved on."

Fabian Geyrhalter, a corporate branding consultant, also drew a parallel between McDonald's and Clinton: "There has been a brand value proposition over so many years, and suddenly she needs to shift that legacy into Clinton 2016: "This is what I stand for now.'"

Alice Crites contributed to this report

Philip Rucker is a national political correspondent for The Washington Post, where he has reported since 2005.....

Anne Gearan is a national politics correspondent for The Washington Post.

The Washington Post



Politics

Official or not, Hillary Clinton builds a massive 2016 team-in-waiting

By Anne Gearan and Dan Balz February 6

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who won't yet say whether she is running for president, is assembling a massive campaign team-in-waiting that outstrips anything on a Republican side that remains factionalized and focused on knocking off one another.

At this point, without so much as an announcement, she has settled on — at the least — a campaign chairman, a campaign manager, a chief strategist and lead pollster, another pollster, a lead media adviser, a communication director, a deputy communications director, a focus group director and a communications strategist.

She is also closing in on a New York City campaign headquarters and a date to make all of this official.

Ad

Watch Full Episodes

televisionfanatic.com

Turn Your Computer into a TV! Watch Full TV Episode

Some senior staff are signing on without nailing down the usual conditions of a new job, such as a salary or starting date. Recruitment is being led by White House senior adviser John Podesta and manager-designate Robby Mook, with Clinton making many of the final decisions herself.

Clinton faces no competition for Democratic campaign talent and is said to prefer to wait as long as possible to begin campaigning, but she has assured senior advisers that she would put the legal framework of a campaign in place this spring.

The advanced stage of her organization is one of many signs that Clinton is the heir apparent for the Democratic nomination, a status that has scared off serious rivals and allowed her to postpone — perhaps until summer — the day she has to begin rigorous campaigning.

Her effort at this stage looks a lot like an incumbent's reelection campaign: She will be running largely insupport of a sitting president and his agenda, and is busy hiring many of President Obama's former aides.

Jim Messina, who helped engineer Clinton's downfall in 2008 as a senior aide to Obama's campaign, now runs a super PAC devoted to supporting her in 2016. "It's her turn and her time," he said on MSNBC this week. "We're going to do whatever it takes to make sure she's the president of the United States."

No Republicans now moving toward active candidacies can say that they are as far along in staffing their upper ranks with the kind of experienced people whom Clinton is bringing aboard. She's also locking in wealthy donors and has a head start on other ground organizing and fundraising because of the efforts of outside groups supporting her.

But the luxury of front-runner status could easily become a liability as Clinton attempts the historically difficult feat of leading her party to a third consecutive term in the White House.

So her advisers are working hard to fashion ways to make her seem hungrier, scrappier and less like the inheritor of Obama's mantle. A small but expanding cadre of close advisers is looking at ways to keep her in fighting form through a slow and uneventful early campaign season.

Strategies to distance herself from Obama include a focus on more populist and base-friendly economic issues, as well as suggestions that — despite her tenure as his secretary of state — her foreign policy would be more self-assured than his.

Putting a toe in the water

No one knows better than Clinton that the landscape roughly a year before the first presidential primary contests can be deceiving. She thought she had a lock on the 2008 nomination — only to lose to Obama.

But Democrats supporting Clinton see no one on the horizon this time who could become an Obama, especially now that Sen. Elizabeth Warren (Mass.) has said she is not running.

That leaves Clinton considering what advisers describe as a "soft" or small-scale launch in April that would allow her to raise money and hire staff but delay traditional daily campaigning until the summer. By comparison, Clinton began campaigning for the 2008 election in January 2007.

Although some supporters worry that Clinton risks losing her edge, others said there is little or no downside to postponing the kind of daily handshaking and speechifying that Clinton often appeared to dislike last time.

Des Moines lawyer and Clinton supporter Jerry Crawford knows there is some hand-wringing among Iowa campaign regulars. At this point in 2007, candidates had established Iowa offices, hired staff and were making regular stops there.

Crawford is unconcerned.

No voters are telling him, "she's got to get out here, because campaigns aren't long enough in this state," Crawford said. "July is as good as March or April."

Advisers fret that GOP front-runner Jeb Bush, already known as a smooth speaker, will have lots of debate chops if he emerges from the crowded GOP field to oppose her.

Clinton advisers are looking for ways she can get in a few zingers now. A Twitter message Clinton posted Monday may give a clue to her campaign approach. She weighed in after a controversy erupted over comments from potential GOP opponents New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie and Sen. Rand Paul of Kentucky that appeared to question universal childhood vaccination.

"The science is clear: The earth is round, the sky is blue, and #vaccineswork. Let's protect all our kids: #GrandmothersKnowBest," she wrote.

An 'exploratory committee' in name only

Clinton is likely to launch an exploratory committee or other placeholder entity in early April, to take advantage of most or all of the federal campaign fundraising period that begins April 1, four strategists and supporters said.

The details of what kind of entity she should launch are still under debate among close advisers, strategists said. They requested anonymity because Clinton is still considering her choices and has made it clear that she wants to keep most of the deliberations private.

An exploratory committee would function as a de-facto announcement, but Clinton could then take her time establishing muscular organizations in Iowa, New Hampshire and other key states, one Democratic strategist supporting her said.

"She wouldn't really be exploring anything," the strategist said.

A "leadership" PAC would be another way of planting her campaign flag without announcing a formal Clinton for President organization, and money that a PAC took in would not count against the federal totals for what individuals may give directly to campaigns.

But it now appears less likely that Clinton would form her own political action committee, strategists said. That is mostly because, like an incumbent, Clinton already has a ready political network and no fear of running out of money.

It is still quite possible that Clinton would skip the stutter-step approach and simply announce her full-fledged presidential campaign this spring.

The Obama connection

Much of the political machinery that helped get Obama elected twice has already swung behind a Clinton candidacy — adding to the feel of quasi-incumbency.

Podesta is advising her unofficially and is expected to become the campaign chairman. He has already announced that he will leave the White House within weeks. White House communications director Jennifer Palmieri is expected to assume the same title for the Clinton campaign in March or April.

Collectively, Clinton's team represents a break from the past. With few exceptions, none of the new team played the most senior roles in her 2008 campaign, and many worked actively against her as part of the Obama operation. More hiring is underway, filling out press, research, digital, political, field and other departments.

Clinton is revamping her communications and press strategy after a 2008 campaign marked by toxic relations between the campaign and the press. Joel Benenson, an Obama pollster now serving as a chief Clinton adviser, Palmieri and Podesta all have good relationships with reporters.

Recent discussions among the Clinton cadre have centered on ways she can communicate through the political press and in spite of it, strategists said, including ways she can exploit social-media outlets that did not exist when she ran in 2008.

Benenson is leading some of the discussions about communications strategy and other topics, two people familiar with recent meetings said. Clinton has ruled out the idea of locating her campaign headquarters in White Plains, N.Y., near her suburban home in Chappaqua; the office will be in Manhattan or Brooklyn, strategists said.

Close, but not too close

Ahead of an announcement, Clinton aides and advisers are charting the issues and policies where Clinton might break with Obama. One strategist advising Clinton said the differences will showcase some of Clinton's more populist and "base-friendly" domestic-policy ideas in the absence of strong primary opposition.

Speaking in Canada last month, Clinton said that although she credits Obama with leading the country out of a deep recession, "I would have differences, everybody would have differences, about what else could have been done."

She has also hinted that she will cast her national-security leadership as more sure-footed than Obama's. A telling remark to the Atlantic magazine last summer about Obama's trademark caution on foreign affairs later brought an apology.

"Great nations need organizing principles, and 'Don't do stupid stuff' is not an organizing principle," she had said.

At the same time, Democratic strategists said, no one wants a repeat of the awkward 2000 campaign, when Al Gore, the sitting vice president, appeared to stiff-arm President Bill Clinton. Obama is said to be prepared to do whatever he can do to help her.

Republicans are ready to pounce on any attempt to portray her as an outsider after more than two decades in official Washington. Her advisers assume that Republican criticism will only intensify and serve a purpose similar to the primary season as a proving ground.

Clinton's circle also dislikes comparisons to incumbency, insisting that she will campaign hard and on her own terms.

"You can't be something you aren't," Clinton spokesman Nick Merrill said. "She's not an incumbent and wouldn't run as one. Make no mistake, if she runs, she will present solutions to our toughest challenges, she will take nothing for granted, and she will fight for every vote."

Anne Gearan is a national politics correspondent for The Washington Post.

Dan Balz is Chief Correspondent at The Washington Post. He has served as the paper's National Editor, Political Editor, White House correspondent and Southwest correspondent.

POLITICO



2016

Inside Hillary Clinton's 2016 plan

New campaign takes shape, with 'big-tent mentality' and 'good cop' for press.

By MIKE ALLEN | 1/26/15 5:33 AM EST | Updated 1/29/15 3:42 PM EST



Getty

Not only is she running, but we have a very good idea of what her campaign will look like.

Hillary Clinton is in the final stages of planning a presidential campaign that will most likely be launched in early April and has made decisions on most top posts, according to numerous Democrats in close contact with the Clintons and their aides.

Campaign advisers say the likelihood of a campaign, long at 98 percent (she never really hesitated, according to one person close to her), went to 100 percent right after Christmas, when Clinton approved a preliminary budget and several key hires.

Most of the top slots have been decided, with one notable exception: communications director, a job that is now the subject of intense lobbying and jockeying among some of the

biggest names in Democratic politics. One top contender is White House communications director Jennifer Palmieri, who is close to likely campaign chairman John Podesta.

Numerous lessons from Clinton's failed 2008 campaign are being baked into the 2016 plan, including a determination to improve relations with the news media — or, at the very least, to have a "good cop" role to help her get off on a better foot with the journalists who will help shape her image.



Reflecting other lessons learned, the campaign is being planned with more of a "big-tent mentality," as one adviser put it. And Bill Clinton is being integrated from the start, after feeling isolated from parts of her campaign against Barack Obama.

One component of Hillary Clinton's emerging strategy involves quietly but aggressively courting key endorsers from the left, who could help increase progressives' comfort level and take the wind out of a potential challenge. Two top targets: Robert Reich, the economist and former labor secretary in her husband's administration, and Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.), the civil rights icon. In December, she won public endorsements from former Democratic National Committee Chairman and Vermont Gov. Howard Dean and Sen. Al Franken (D-Minn.).

Bill Clinton is already deeply engaged in the campaign, warning that Jeb Bush is a real threat, while New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie is probably just a sideshow.

The former president got a heads-up from the camp of President George H.W. Bush a few days before former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush made his surprise Facebook announcement in December that he would "actively explore" a campaign. The two former presidents have developed a friendly bond, partly because of their work together on relief for the 2004 Asian tsunami.

The exact timing of Hillary Clinton's launch is unknown, but close allies expect her to officially enter the 2016 race shortly after the end of this quarter, so that her first fundraising report will be a blockbuster. On March 4, the Clinton Foundation holds its annual gala in New York, with entertainment by Carole King, and it's expected to be one of the Clintons' final major events before the campaign.

Friends and advisers say she is planning this campaign "her way," without being buffaloed by outside pressure.

"She is taking her time," one adviser said. "Part of doing something right is ... taking the time to balance the advice she is getting with her own thoughts. She's in no rush. People have been putting a red 'X' on the calendar for a long time, but that isn't necessarily happening internally."



Jindal urges GOP to be more than 'Party of No'

Clinton will enter the Democratic race with a bang — and virtually no opposition to speak of. Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.), who could mount a serious campaign from the left, has said she won't run, and is making no behind-the-scenes preparations. Vice President Joe Biden says he might very well run — but mainly wants his name in the mix in case Clinton implodes.

This leaves a trio of long shots with scant money: Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), former Maryland Gov. Martin O'Malley and former Sen. Jim Webb of Virginia.

The potential opposition is so weak that Clinton might wind up not even debating during the primaries, which many Democrats view as a mixed blessing.

The Clinton team knows it can't campaign with the swagger of a presumptive nominee because the air of inevitability was so damaging last time around. That said, some advisers are already privately talking up potential running mates, with Sens. Michael Bennet of Colorado and Tim Kaine of Virginia dominating the early speculation.

Some advisers expect a push for diversity on the ticket. So the shortlist also is expected to include Housing and Urban Development Secretary Julián Castro, Labor Secretary Tom Perez, Sen. Cory Booker of New Jersey and perhaps California Attorney General Kamala Harris, who is running for U.S. Senate.

Despite the internal confidence, Clinton won't enter without substantial concerns and obstacles, some of which are self-evident to her top advisers and are a subject of constant conversation among Democrats during the build-up phase.

The Warren wing can be expected to continue pounding her for fat speaking fees and chummy Wall Street relations, and try to pull her to the left in ways that are unnatural for the Clintons. If she were to lurch left, she would risk appearing insincere or baldly political.



These allies also know the past problems of Clinton Inc. that could resurface: the competing Bill and Hillary camps, the questionable donors and backbiting when things get tense or go south. Clinton insiders blame a confused and conflicted '08 structure for many of her stumbles in that primary race.

The campaign-in-waiting is working to assuage these concerns by creating a coherent leadership structure and bridging the Bill and Hillary worlds. "There's an enormous amount of coordination and communication that goes on with his office," an adviser said. "Everybody recognizes that it's important."

Here's the rub: A trio of people with substantial juice will be above campaign manager Robby Mook — with Podesta, who is leaving his West Wing post as counselor next month for a short stay at the Center for American Progress until the campaign formally launches, serving as chairman; longtime family counselor Cheryl Mills serving as a top adviser, regardless of whether she is on the inside or outside (a possible title: co-chair); and longtime close aide Huma Abedin, the most important non-Clinton in her orbit. (When the White House wants to reach Clinton, Abedin gets the call.) Philippe Reines, one of the longest-serving Hillary whisperers, will be another crucial outside adviser.

Toss in Bill and Chelsea, and it's clear why structure is such a stress point.

Tom Nides, who returned to Morgan Stanley after serving as Hillary Clinton's deputy secretary of state, will have a top role in the campaign — probably involving high-level fundraising. Dennis Cheng, the Clinton Foundation's chief development officer, is expected to move over to the campaign in a top finance post.

Advisers know that Clinton neither likes nor trusts the press — and feels that it's mutual. She remains a voracious consumer of news about herself, occasionally complaining about an article's tone or omissions.

But she got largely favorable coverage as secretary of state and experienced a press corps that she considered more substantive and less sensational. She visited with reporters in the back of her plane on international trips and discovered they don't bite. So the campaign plans to include a media-friendly communications official, as a counterweight to the instinctive insularity of Hillaryland.



"You do see what works and address what works the next time around," an adviser said.
"The default isn't toward the pit-bull mentality."

In addition to Palmieri, other names that have been in the hopper: Eric Schultz, principal deputy White House press secretary; Brian Fallon, an alumnus of New York Sen. Chuck Schumer's office who is now the top spokesman for Attorney General Eric Holder; Mo Elleithee, the DNC communications director; Karen Finney, a former MSNBC host and alumna of the Clinton White House; and Kiki McLean, a consultant and strategist who has worked at the top of many national campaigns.

Nick Merrill, who worked with Reines at State and is now Clinton's spokesman, is trusted and well liked and will remain in the inner circle.

Clinton has recruited two of the top brains of the Obama campaign — pollster Joel Benenson and media strategist Jim Margolis, who worked for her husband's campaign in 1992. Now that the architecture of the campaign is clear, the two are helping with the next critical task: developing her message.

Glenn Thrush contributed to this report.

Follow @politico



The New York Times

Feb.24

Apr. 1

Mar. 31

Mar. 30

Mar. 27

Mar. 26

Mar. 25

Mar. 24

Mar. 23

Mar. 20

Mar. 19

Politics Newsletter: | Sign Up | Follow @NYTPolitics

Political News, Now.

7:36 am ET

By The New York Times

Today in Politics

7:36 am ET
The New York Times

Precampaign Costs Mounting, Clinton Gets a Silicon Valley Paycheck

Good morning from Washington this Tuesday as Hillary Rodham Clinton breaks her self-imposed silence with a well-compensated speech in California, Gov. Chris Christie teams up with his old enemies in the New Jersey teachers' union and Mayor Rahm Emanuel learns if a president's friendship can help win a Chicago election. Here in the capital, the new secretary of Veterans Affairs apologizes for lying about his military service, and rule changes at the Conservative Political Action Conference may end a Paul family tradition.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has been lying low for weeks, will return to the public arena on Tuesday for a paid speech to female technology executives in Silicon Valley.

Watermark, a group of female executives in the Bay Area, will pay Mrs. Clinton an estimated \$300,000 to deliver the keynote address at its Lead On Conference for Women at the Santa Clara Convention Center. She will also take questions from the technology reporter **Kara Swisher**.

It's the first of two paid speeches that Mrs. Clinton is to deliver in the coming month. And that raises a question: Why is she still giving paid speeches?

One reason: A nondeclared presidential campaign can't be run on the cheap. An official campaign comes with a fund-raising apparatus and budget; until then, Mrs. Clinton must use her own money to pay the salaries of her growing team and the rent on a Midtown Manhattan office.

Polling, essential for any prospective candidate, is another out-of-pocket expense, and she has also hired a firm to do "self-opposition research."

Mrs. Clinton's speeches in February and March are related to her efforts on behalf of women and girls. (Read: No Wall Street banks or hedge funds.) Her advisers are betting that by November 2016, voters will have more pressing things to worry about than whether Mrs. Clinton spoke to women in Silicon Valley on Tuesday or camp counselors at a gathering in Atlantic City on March 19.

Mrs. Clinton knows how expensive campaigns can be, especially if you don't win. By the time she ended her 2008 campaign, Mrs. Clinton had spent \$11.4 million of her own money and had accumulated \$22.5 million in debt.

That's a lot of paid talks to the American Society of Travel Agents and the Institute of Scrap Recycling Industries.

- Amy Chozick

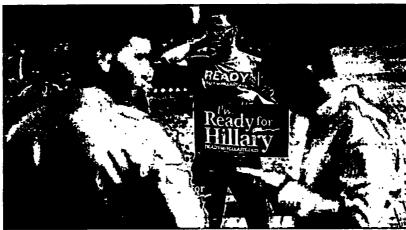




March 22, 2015, 02:30 pm

Ready for Hillary ready to step aside as she prepares campaign

By Cameron Joseph



Getty Images

As Hillary Clinton readies her campaign, Ready for Hillary is getting ready to step aside.

Founded to convince the former secretary of State to run for office, the organization is planning to dissolve as soon as possible after Clinton formally announces.

Their parting gift to her: A list of more than 3.6 million supporters they'll push to sign on with Clinton's official campaign, leaving her with a huge pool of potential donors and volunteers as she enters the race.

"When she announces a decision, our work will be complete," Ready for Hillary Executive Director Adam Parkhomenko told The Hill. "My number one goal is to identify as many supporters as possible and if she announces she's running to transition as many of them over to the campaign."

Ready for Hillary has been planning since the start to dissolve once Clinton jumps in. They'll encourage as many backers as possible to sign up with her official campaign with a heavy email and social media push to accompany her launch.

The super-PAC will also publicly post its list of large donors so the Clinton campaign can follow up with them. They've worked up plans to share the full supporters list with the Clinton campaign either through a list rental, like President Obama's Organizing for Action does, or list sharing.

Ready for Hillary strategists expect the group will top 4 million supporters and more than 150,000 donors by mid-April, around the time Clinton is expected to officially announce her campaign. It will have raised roughly \$15 million by then, with most of that money spent to help grow its supporter list.

Those are gaudy numbers for organization that no one knew what to make of at first — including Clinton's inner circle, many of whom were skeptical when Ready for Hillary first launched.

"I don't think there was a big kerfuffle with the Clinton people, but I think folks wanted to make sure anytime anything has to do with Hillary that it's fabulous, that it meets people's expectations of being professional and organized and living between the lines and doing all the right things," said former Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif.), who served under Clinton at State and was an early backer of the group.

Parkhomenko, a low-level Clinton staffer in the 2008 campaign, founded the organization with Clinton donor Allida Black in early 2013, shortly after Clinton stepped down from the Obama administration.

Once their group started catching fire with the grassroots, Clinton's advisors decided to embrace the effort, steering a handful of top former advisors to help the organization — and help make sure it didn't create any problems for Clinton.

"When I learned about Ready for Hillary I was intrigued but wary," said Terry Shumaker, a longtime Clinton ally who was one of President Bill Clinton's first New Hampshire primary backers in the 1992 campaign.

He eventually decided to sign on as an advisor after talking to former White House Political Director Craig Smith and former White House Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes, two early big-name backers of the organization.

Shumaker says the group's efforts have exceeded his expectations, arguing that the efforts helped scare off potential primary opponents while giving Clinton time to mull a bid.

The group claims 56,000 active volunteers, has held events in all 50 states as well as abroad, and has been endorsed by 29 Democratic senators and more than 100 House members.

"We have many more names than we had when she suspended her campaign in June of '08. It really has worked out even better than my strongest hopes in the spring and summer of '13," said Shumaker. "We've channeled all that amazing pent-up energy and demand to support her in a very constructive way."

It's the group's sunny tone, army of young activists and tech savvy as much as its high-profile backers that has attracted attention — Ready for Hillary advisor Tracy Sefl described the group as "relentlessly positive," a comment echoed by other senior supporters.

That stands in starkest contrast to Clinton's 2008 campaign, which was beaten on the tech front and in grassroots organizing by Obama's and struggled regularly with nasty infighting and a hostility towards the media.

Clinton has gone out of her way to bring in no-drama senior strategists and communications staff who have strong relationships with journalists on her soon-to-be official side, though the recent scandal over her emails and her guarded responses during a follow-up press conference have renewed questions about whether that will work.

Some of her allies hope her campaign will have the same type of focused, sunny message that Ready for Hillary has maintained — though a full-time campaign facing hostile opponents and tough media faces many more challenges than a supporting outside group.

"It's been an absolute pleasure to be involved with the kids, as I call them, and be involved in a movement that has a lot of ingenuity and political saliency," said Tauscher.

This story was updated at 9:20 a.m. on March 24.

TAGS: Hillary Clinton, Ready for Hillary

The HiB 1625 K Street, NW Suite 900 Washington DC 20006 | 202-628-8500 tel | 202-628-8503 fax
The contents of this site are 62015 Capital HiB Publishing Corp., a subsidiary of News Communications, Inc.





Published on The Weekly Standard (http://www.weeklystandard.com)

Hillary Clinton Coordinates With Pro-Hillary Super PAC

Daniel Halper

March 11, 2015 8:23 PM

Under federal election law, candidates are not allowed to coordinate with the super PACs that support them. But since Hillary Clinton is not yet an official candidate, she's been coordinating with Correct the Record, a project of the Democratic-aligned super PAC American Bridge 21st Century.

The revelation comes near the middle of a <u>Washington Post</u> story about Democrats feeling uneasy about Clinton's press conference earlier this week:

Correct the Record — an outside political group set up specifically to defend Clinton in the media — received only a brief set of talking points from Clinton's office instructing them to dismiss the story as silly and to compare Clinton's use of a private e-mail account to former secretary of state Colin Powell's use of an AOL account. The group was given no additional information for days, leaving Correct the Record founder David Brock and other surrogates to craft their own, sometimes incongruous, defenses.

Last year, the communications director for Correct the Record, Adrienne Elrod, told <u>Mother Jones</u> magazine that her group does not coordinate with Clinton or her staff. "We simply don't coordinate with Secretary Clinton or her staff," Elrod is quoted as saying. "We make our own decisions beginning with the decision not to coordinate."

Another pro-Clinton super PAC, Ready for Hillary, made a similar statement to the liberal publication.

"With her direct staff or family there is no coordination or communication. Being an independent group that's always something made clear to everyone and it's also commonsense," said Ready for Hillary communications director Seth Bringman.

Subscribe now to The Weekly Standard!

Get more from The Weekly Standard: Follow WeeklyStandard.com on RSS and sign-up for our free Newsletter.

Copyright 2015 Weekly Standard LLC.

Source URL: http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/hillary-clinton-coordinates-pro-hillary-super-pac 883470.html

POLITICO





Getty

Ready for Hillary staff join Clinton campaign

By ANNIE KARNI | 4/1/15 3:19 PM EDT | Updated 4/1/15 3:38 PM EDT

Hard work on behalf of Hillary Clinton pays off.

As Ready for Hillary — the independent super PAC that for over two years has been raising grass-roots support for a Clinton presidential campaign — begins to wind down its operation ahead of Clinton's formal campaign announcement, all 29 of its staffers who want jobs on the Clinton campaign are expected to get the chance to do so at some point during the cycle, sources said.

For now, the prospective campaign has hired six Ready for Hillary staffers to join its growing team, a Democratic operative with knowledge of Clinton's plans confirmed to POLITICO.

The founder and executive director of Ready for Hillary, Adam Parkhomenko, will come on board as director of grass-roots engagement. Parkhomenko has been a superfan for over a decade, urging voters to support a Clinton presidential bid since 2004. In the 2008 cycle, Parkhomenko worked on the campaign.

Neisha Blandin, who has been directing grass-roots fundraising for the super PAC, will serve as national finance associate for grass-roots fundraising.



POLITICO PRO Full coverage of campaigns

Hans Goff will be South regional political director, continuing a role he had with Ready for Hillary.

Jessica Mejia will be the West regional political director.

Rachel Schneider, who was the Young Americans and Jewish Americans director at Ready for Hillary, will be the intern coordinator in the Iowa headquarters for the prospective campaign.

Deputy Finance Director Alex Smith will become national finance associate for outreach.

Over the past two years, Ready for Hillary has built a network of 4 million supporters.

Subject: The first deadline of 2016

Digitally signed by Frankie Hampton ON: c=US, o=U.S. Government, ou=FEC, cn=Frankie Hampton Date: 2015.06.04 10:57:26 -04'00'

Wednesday, April 1, 2015 at 1:18:08 AM Eastern Daylight Time Date:

Ready for Hillary (sent by Ready for Hillary <bounce@bounce.myngp.com>) From:

To:



B-- we're just hours away from the first fundraising deadline since GOP opponents have officially entered the 2016 Presidential race, but we're still \$2,371 short of our goal.

Support Hillary before tonight's midnight deadline: Chip in \$20.16 or whatever you can now.

Hitting these goals now shows Hillary that if she gets into this race, her grassroots army will have the strength necessary to fight back against attacks from the Koch brothers and their special interest cronies.

Thanks for everything,

Ready for Hillary

CONTRIBUTE

Not Authorized by any Candidate or Candidate's Committee

If you believe you received this message in error or wish to no longer receive emails from us, please unsubscribe:

Ready for Hillary PAC PO Box 7705 McLean VA 22106 United States